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- ART. VIII.—1. *Voyage en Chine et dans les Mers et Archipels de cet Empire pendant les Années 1847, 1848, 1849, 1850.* Par M. JURIEN DE LA GRAVIÈRE, Capitaine commandant la corvette La Bayonnaise, expédiée par le Gouvernement français dans ces parages. Avec une belle carte gravée sur acier. Paris : Charpentier, Libraire-éditeur. 1853. 2 vols. 8vo.
2. *History of the Insurrection in China; with Notices of the Christianity, Creed, and Proclamations of the Insurgents.* By MM. CALLERY and YVAN. Translated from the French, with a Supplementary Chapter, narrating the most recent Events, by JOHN OXENFORD. With a Fac-simile of a Chinese Map of the Course of the Insurrection, and a Portrait of Tièn-tè, its Chief. New York : Harper & Brothers. 1853. 24mo. pp. 301.

At a period of profound and universal peace,—when the gates of Janus, over all the face of the world, were for the moment closed,—the rude bruit of clashing arms has reached our ears from two mighty continents; and in either case we find, singularly enough, that it is from the two great Tartar empires—in extent, in population, and as to their respective standards of civilization, paralleled only by each other—that these sounds proceed. The more immediate interests involved in the Russian troubles have not diverted our attention from the anomalous and mysterious struggle going on in China. To give a passing glance at the physical and moral condition of the Chinese people, to point out the footprints of the messengers of the Gospel among them, and to exhibit, so far as is permitted us by the meagre reports that from time to time have reached this country, the origin, progress, and present aspect of the insurrection, will be the object of this paper.

For two centuries the Ta-tsing dynasty has continued to rule over a territory as large as that of all Christian Europe, with a population nearly eighteen times more numerous than that of the United States. The Mant-chou race, from which was sprung Tae-tsung-wan-hang-te, the first of that line who

sat upon the imperial throne, is said by Gutzlaff to have been a Tongoosian tribe, whose origin is traced by their local fabulists to a divine source in the northern parts of Korea. In that region, say they, there once dwelt three heavenly maidens. Whilst bathing one day in the transparent waters of the Lake of Balkhori, a magpie let fall a red fruit upon the garments of the fairest of the three. Woman-like, she was tempted, and she ate. The result was the birth of a son, whose appearance was signalized by preternatural prodigies. The mother soon after died. The miraculous child, embarking in a small boat, intrusted himself to the guidance of the current of the stream, which in due season bore him to the camps of a warlike people, by whom he was chosen ruler, assuming on this occasion the title of Mant-chou. The conception by a virgin, — the infant voyager upon the river, — may suggest to the reader some analogy with similar events in Biblical history; but such coincidences are of frequent occurrence in pagan tradition.

During many years, this tribe continued to increase in power and resources, till at last it became a formidable opponent to the government of China, then swayed by the failing hands of the dynasty of Ming. After repeated and bloody battles with this nation, the Mant-chous had carried their victorious arms far into their enemy's country, when, in 1636, so powerful did their leader deem them, that he caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor of China, adopting for his dynastic name *Ta-tsing*, or Great Purity. In Chinese history, he is known under the title of Tae-tsung. Before proceeding with our sketch of the course of this usurpation, a brief notice of that rival line, which now, after an abeyance of two centuries, is so successfully maintaining its claims to the disputed throne, may not be out of place.

To enumerate the barbarous titles of the various sovereigns who, according to Chinese historians, have ruled that empire since the birth of time, would be a useless task. Nor is it within the province of this paper even to give an historical notice of the different dynasties which, as it may be admitted, have succeeded to each other in rapid order within the last four thousand years. It will suffice to point out how

regular and frequent, in Chinese annals, is the dethronement, not merely of individual princes, but of dynasties themselves; and all this without any radical change in the manner of governing or in the constitution (so to speak) of the state.

The Hea dynasty — the earliest to which we attach any regard (B. C. 2207–1767) — was overturned by one Tang, a successful soldier, who founded the Shang dynasty (B. C. 1766–1122). His posterity, degenerating from the stern virtues of the founder of their glory, were hurled from the throne by the martial Woo-wang. The Chow dynasty (B. C. 1122–249) ensued; to which again, by force of arms, succeeded that of Tsin (B. C. 249–206). A general revolt soon drove this bad family from the imperial seats; and that of Han (B. C. 202–A. D. 220) ruled in its stead. Then followed the dynasties of Tsin (A. D. 264–420); of Sung (A. D. 420–479); of Tse (A. D. 480–502); of Leang (A. D. 502–557); of Chin (A. D. 557–589); of Suy (A. D. 590–618); of Tang (A. D. 619–907); those of the Woo-tae, or Five Generations (A. D. 907–959); and of Sung (A. D. 960–1279). The famous Kublai Khan — a sovereign whose reputation is justly paralleled only by that of the mightiest monarchs the world has ever known — at this period assumed the reins of power, and established a Mongol-Tartar line of kings, who, under the name of the Yuen dynasty, governed China ninety-one years. In their turn, his successors proved false to the promises held out by the genius and power of their ancestor, and in 1368 were expelled by a revolution caused by their own insolence and oppression. The celebrated Ming dynasty, whose victorious founder was Choo-yuen-chang, the son of an obscure peasant, possessed itself of the imperial throne, which it held for two hundred and seventy-six years (A. D. 1368–1644). The reign of this line was mild, beneficent, and paternal; and probably nothing less than a powerful foreign foe could have sufficed to procure its downfall, since the popular attachment to their sovereigns was great enough to prevent any internal revolution. But this foreign foe was present at the gates of the empire, in shape of the Mant-chou Tartars, who, as we have already mentioned, after a long and devastating warfare,

managed to bring about the destruction of the imperial family and the downfall of the throne. Since that period, the line of Ta-tsing has continued to reign.

The hand of the Mant-chou kings lay not lightly upon the loins of their new subjects; and, for a long period, rebellions against their rule were of constant occurrence. Particularly odious to the Chinese people was one of the earliest Mant-chou edicts, by which they were called upon to shave their heads and adopt the Tartar garb. But long years of endurance have brought them to a general acquiescence even in this obnoxious custom; though the present condition of the empire demonstrates clearly enough that the spirit of resistance was not dead, but only sleeping,—that though the foreign yoke was borne uncomplainingly, its burden was none the less felt.

The present population of China, as may well be supposed, bears abundant evidence of the diverse nature of the races that have at various periods occupied its soil. Probably the aboriginal stock is that of the Miautsze, or “Children of the Earth,” who inhabit the mountain tracts of the Nan-ling and Mei-ling, in great independence of the imperial rule. Little is known about this people, though enough to show them to be of essentially different origin from the Chinese proper. They are rude and hardy, and, though of smaller stature, of more warlike disposition than their peaceful neighbors, who constitute indeed by far the largest portion of the nation. It is scarcely worth while here to endeavor to point out the reasons that induce us to believe the Miautsze to have been the primeval occupants of China. But it is certain that so far back as we can trace their history we find them occupying the same position that they do now,—dwellers in mountain fastnesses, impatient of subjugation, resolutely disowning the imperial yoke. Were they of Chinese origin,—the descendants of the leaders in some unsuccessful conspiracy or rebellion, who had fled into these wilds from the terrors of the law,—their appearance would indicate the fact. For, as M. de la Gravière remarks, the Mongol type does not readily lose itself in foreign alliances. In emigration, in distant lands, in the streets of New York or on the plantations of Cuba, the Chi-

nese preserve their physiognomy, their garb, their morals, their manners. The offspring of a mixed marriage exhibits all the features of the Chinese parent, such as the peculiar hue of the skin, the oblique form of the eye, and the protrusion of the bones of the face. The blood of the sons of Han passes through that of other races, like the river Rhone through Lake Lemman, scarcely affected by the union. Their appearance is thus described by Mr. Williams:—

“The physical traits of the Chinese race may be described as being between the light and agile Hindu, and the muscular, fleshy European; their form is well-built and symmetrical. Their color is a brunette or sickly white, rather approaching to a yellowish tint than a florid, but this yellow hue has been much exaggerated; in the south they are swarthy but not black, never becoming as dark even as the Portuguese whose fifth or sixth ancestors dwelt upon the Tagus. It is almost unnecessary to add, that the shades of complexion differ very much according to the latitude, and degree of exposure to the weather, especially in the female sex. The hair of the head is lank, black, coarse, and glossy; beard always black, thin, and deficient; no whiskers; and very little hair on the body. Eyes invariably black, and apparently oblique; this is owing to the slight degree in which the inner angles of the eyelids open, the internal canthi being more acute than in western races, and not allowing the whole iris to be seen; this peculiarity in the eye distinguishes the eastern races of Asia from all other families of man. The hair and eyes being always black, a European with blue eyes and light hair appears very strange to them; and one reason given by the people of Canton, for having called foreigners *fan kwei*, or ‘foreign devils,’ is, that they had deep sunken blue eyes, and red hair like demons.

“The cheek-bones are high, and the outline of the face remarkably round. The nose is rather small, much depressed, and nearly even with the face at the root, and wide at the extremity; there is, however, considerable difference in this respect, but no aquiline noses are seen. Lips thicker than among Europeans, but not at all approaching those of the negro. The hands are small, and the lower limbs better proportioned than among any other Asiatics. The height is about the same as that of Europeans, and a thousand men taken as they come in the streets of Canton, will probably equal in stature and weight the same number in Rome or New Orleans; their muscular power would probably be less.

“In size, the women are disproportionately small, when compared

with European females; and in the eyes of those accustomed to the European style of beauty, the Chinese women possess little, the broad upper face, low nose, and linear eyes, being quite the contrary of handsome. But still the Chinese face is not destitute of some beauty, and when animated with good humor and an expressive eye, and lighted by the glow of youth and health, the displeasing features lose much of their repulsiveness. Nor do they fade so soon as has been represented, and look as ugly and withered when old as some travellers say, but are in respect to bearing children and keeping their vigor, more like Europeans than the Hindus or Persians."

As to the Mongolian and Mant-chou Tartars, their origin presents marked distinctions; the one being a nomadic, the other an agricultural race. The former are a squarely built, swarthy, unprepossessing people; the nearest approach to civilization they exhibit being the possession of a written language, which, however, seems of very little use to them. The Mant-chous are of a fairer aspect and keener intellect than the Chinese, and, in fact, betray more marked Caucasian affinities than any other subjects of the Brother of the Sun. It will be observed that these Tartar tribes are by no means so purely Asiatic in their condition and features as the bulk of the population of China. A large portion of them have migrated thitherward at different periods, from the confines of Western Europe; nor has this migration been entirely of an ancient date. De Quincey has narrated, in his flowing language, the exodus of a body of Kalmuk Tartars, who, so late as the year 1771, flying from the harsh yoke of Russia, left the banks of the Wolga, six hundred thousand strong, taking with them their flocks and their herds, their wives and their little ones. There are few more interesting passages in modern literature than this account of their horrid journey, for thousands of miles, across the dreary steppes that lay between their former homes and the promised land,—before them, famine and the wintry gods; behind them, the dripping sword, red with the blood of their brothers and their sons,—till, after leaving four hundred thousand of their number dead upon the route, the shattered remnant found a final home beneath the shadow of the Chinese wall.

The wild Tibetans complete the five divisions under which

we have classed the various tribes that go to make up the three hundred and sixty millions of souls nominally subject to the dynasty of Ta-tsing. These are a race of strong religious faith, and of tolerable semi-civilization, dwelling contentedly in their highland homes. Such is the *materiel* of which the empire is composed.

Although the religious condition of China is perhaps not the least singular feature that is presented to our observation, yet such is its complicated nature that we despair of giving a just notion of it within our present limits. It certainly is characterized by two facts, almost unexampled in such a vast pagan land; namely, "the absence of human sacrifices and the non-deification of vice." Suffice it to say, that although there is no established state-priesthood, there has existed in China, from a date beyond the memory of man, a state-religion, consisting not of doctrine, but of ceremonies. This involves three grades of devotional rites,—the Great, the Medium, and the Lower Sacrifices. The first comprehends four objects; viz. *Tien*, the heavens, or imperial concave expanse; *Ti*, the earth; *Tai-miau*, or the Temple of Ancestors; and the *Shié-tsih*, or the protecting divinities of each dynasty. Under the Medium head, sacrifices are offered to Confucius, to former sovereigns, the sun, the moon, etc.; in all, eight adorable divisions. Under the Lower, come numerous objects of less regard; the north pole, for instance, the souls of great men, the clouds, mountains and streams, rain, hail, and thunder, and the like. At the head of the priesthood of this state-religion are placed the Emperor, and the Board of Rites; the descending grades are supposed to embrace all the subjects. But, in fact, the whole is a mere empty pageant,—a sort of prescribed manual of etiquette,—by no means constituting the real religion of the empire, and most in vogue with the literati, who are, of course, the most competent to commit to memory and to perform its various ceremonies. These persons—Men of Letters, as they are termed—are chiefly followers of Confucius, whose teachings went no higher than the doctrine that the great duty of man consists in a proper observance of the rights of others. As for a God above all, he rather denied the existence of any such spirit. "Not knowing even life," said he, "how should



we know death?" — and he seems not even to have admitted the immortality of the soul. Still his works abound in moral didactics, perfectly suited to the capacity of his countrymen, and his memory is perpetuated by thousands of temples sacred to his name.

Another sect, not very dissimilar to the Confucians, is that of the Rationalists, founded by Laukiun, some six hundred years before Christ. His priests render him divine honors, and practise largely on the credulity of the people by juggleries and impositions. But neither this, nor any other rival sect, can compare, in the estimation of the government, with that of the Buddhists, or followers of Fuh. The worship of Buddha was introduced into China about A. D. 66, and has subsisted there with varying prosperity ever since. At present it is the imperial creed.

Pitiable as their native religions may seem to our eyes, there is one point in which they might be wisely followed by many of the oldest Christian nations: there is no persecution among themselves for mere opinion's sake. Unqualified toleration towards one another seems to be their controlling principle. Christianity even (though not without a long and painful struggle) has obtained a foothold in the land; and the day seems rapidly approaching when it will be an acknowledged and protected, if not a universal faith, throughout those wide-spread dominions. We shall proceed now to trace its establishment.

From the scanty evidence exhibited to us, we are not unwilling to believe that, even in the earliest days of our religion, the Apostle Thomas himself preached the tidings of salvation among the Chinese. It is certain that in the sixth century Christian monks visited that land; and the Nestorian mission had probably been established there at least as early as A. D. 500. The curious monument discovered at Síngan Fu, in 1625, has been repeatedly described. It is undoubtedly a memorial of the propagation of Christianity by the Nestorians, of the eighth century. In fact, for several hundred years these pious men successfully taught their creed to willing ears; their converts were numerous and influential; but at length various causes arose to impede their efforts, and towards the

close of the fourteenth century the last traces of their presence disappeared from the land.

Little will be said here of the first Roman Catholic missions. In 1288, John de Monte Corvino was sent by Pope Nicholas IV. as a missionary to Tartary. So successful were his labors, that, in 1307, Clement V. sent him seven suffragans, and appointed him archbishop of that country. But his mission also died out, and when the Mings came to the throne, the last vestiges of Romish, as well as of Nestorian Christianity, had faded away as silently, but as irrevocably, as the snow vanishes from the hill-sides beneath the warm breath of spring.

The Chinese Christianity of the present day must date itself entirely from the arrival at Canton, in 1581, of Matteo Ricci and Ruggiero, two priests specially selected for this service by Valignano, Superior of the Romish Oriental Missions. For some few years the indefatigable Ricci labored under innumerable difficulties, caused by the prejudices and suspicions of his neighbors. But gradually gaining on their confidence by his ready adoption of their customs and costume, and by his superior scientific attainments, he was finally enabled to acquire the favor of many powerful persons, and to accomplish much in furtherance of the end for which he had been sent. It is true that Ricci and his brother Jesuits conformed in so many things to the habits and tastes of the Chinese, that it came to be doubted at last whether the vital truths of religion were not sacrificed to their notions of expediency; and the Dominican and Franciscan monks, their rivals, raised such a storm about their ears, that the poor Jesuits soon found a more wearisome master at Rome than at Peking. The fact seems to be, that Ricci (whose merits, sufferings, and perseverance we cordially admit) was resolved to succeed in his undertaking, let it cost what it might. All the world knows the famous device of his order; and he doubtless thought that in this, of all cases, the end would sanctify the means. The abilities of this astute man were competent

“—— the rod of empire to have swayed,” —

to have conceived and executed the schemes of a Richelieu or an Algarotti. He was eminently a Jesuit statesman; and in

whatever points he found the Chinese determined to ignore his teachings, he made it his business to refine away the salient obstacles, till it would have puzzled the keenest casuist of his own order to determine the line of demarcation between the Romish and the Chinese ritual. But it is unjust to term him a mere timeserver. The end he had ever in view was not his own well-being; it was the propagation of the faith that he sought, and in every phase of his career, he evidently desired only to turn his flock from their pagan ways, and, since they could not be persuaded to receive undiluted the draught he proffered them, to induce them to consent to it, as a reluctant child swallows medicine, concealed under some more acceptable guise.

For many years after Ricci's death, things continued in the same train. Schaal, a German Jesuit, succeeded in 1628 to his influence at court, and, notwithstanding occasional persecutions and hostile edicts, the work of propagation went on rapidly. The difficulties of the foreign priests were great and numerous, but they were manfully encountered. Imprisonment was often their lot; stripes, chains, banishment, nay, even torture, and death itself, were not unfamiliar to their experience. And to crown all, through the intrigues of the Dominican Morales, their conduct was officially denounced by Pope Innocent X., in 1645. To be sure, ten years later, Alexander VII. modified this sentence, so as to deprive it of much of its sting. Nevertheless, the question continued to be agitated during the remainder of the century. The Jesuits openly avowed that, unless their flocks were permitted to continue their ancient omissions to Confucius and their ancestors, they would deny the Christian religion.

The reverend fathers even went so far — in consequence of the assertion of the Apostolic Vicar, Maigrot, in 1693, that the word *tien* meant the material heavens, and that therefore the Chinese adorations of it were idolatrous and deadly sins — as to obtain, in 1700, a certificate from the Emperor that the word in dispute properly signified the True God, and that the rites complained of were purely matters of political etiquette. This interpretation might serve for the latitude of Peking, but it would not answer at Rome; the Emperor's statement was

not satisfactory to the Pope; and in 1704 Clement XI. decided that Maigrot was in the right, and consequently that his opponents, from the Brother of the Sun and Moon down to the successors of Father Ricci, were all in the wrong. Here arose a curious conflict of jurisdiction. The Papal legate interdicted to the Chinese Christians the practice of their worship as taught by Ricci. The Emperor, in turn, decreed that no other form should be allowed. As he was seconded by the zealous inclinations of nearly all the missionaries, it is not wonderful that they triumphed; and at no period in their history was Romanism so flourishing in China. Scores of churches were erected; hundreds and thousands of converts followed the steps of the Jesuits. They were loved by the people, in favor at court, and influential with the literati. In all scientific questions, their voices were listened to with unfeigned respect, and even the great survey of the empire was intrusted to their hands.

But in 1723 Kang-hí died, and with him expired whatever substantial protection the missionaries enjoyed. His successor, Yung-Ching, ordered all the priests in his dominions, save those retained at Peking for scientific purposes, to be exiled; and since that period their cause has been in constant decadence. Often, it is true, priests have been tacitly permitted to pursue their mission, but ever under the overhanging penalty of cruel and arbitrary laws, which are unsparingly put into requisition at the option of any one in power. Neither the past nor the present statistics of the Church of Rome in China can be stated with accuracy. The reports of the fathers are frequently confused, seldom reliable, and as a whole utterly unsatisfactory. Even in the matter of persecutions and martyrdoms, which with good reason is held to be their staple subject, they do not give us full information. A few only of their European missionaries have been put to the torture or endured violent death during this nineteenth century, for their faith and religious works; but many, very many, native converts have earned the palm of martyrdom, and passed into that other land where they shall be rewarded, not according to their knowledge, but by the measure of their faith. It is not possible but that, in many cases, no foreign eye witnesses

the arrest or beholds the doom of these sufferers ; no European tongue can proclaim their story ; but they are known to Him for whom they have died, and he will recompense them.

About 1840, the Romish records estimated the Church in China to contain, besides three hundred and three thousand converts, one hundred and fourteen native and fifty-seven foreign priests, and eight bishops. M. de la Gravière, whose position gave him the means of obtaining the most accurate information, confirms this statement ; but at the same time leads us to infer that there has been little or no increase since that period. Five separate religious orders divide this precious harvest ; the Jesuits, the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Lazarists, and the priests of the *Missions Étrangères*, — a society founded in 1663, under the protection of Louis XIV. Ten dioceses contain the fold, each governed by a vicar apostolic, who is bishop *in partibus*, and is not unfrequently assisted by a coadjutor. To the Council of the Propaganda at Rome, however, is committed the supreme control of the missions. To a certain extent, the priests of the same origin find it for their convenience to cling together in this work. Thus the Portuguese seem to monopolize the Catholic mission of the province of Kouang-toung ; the Spaniards, that of Fou-kien ; the Italians, those of Shan-tung and Chan-si, of Hou-kouang and Kiang-nan. Though the numbers of their converts may seem trifling, and their intelligence and learning small, in comparison with the people of the West, yet we must not undervalue the worth of the Chinese Christians, nor forget that the profession of the only true faith is a very different thing in that land from what it is with us. They have borne testimony to their creed in exile, in torture, or at the least by voluntary poverty and abnegation of the world. While some have sighed out the whole of their weary lives in the depths of Central Asia, on the borders of Turkistan, or on the dreary confines of Siberia, others have expired beneath the hand of the executioner, or, flying to the remote fastnesses of some inhospitable mountain, have abandoned to the spoiler all the comforts of their homes. To effect such a radical change in the nature of a people so avaricious, so sensual, as this, could have been no light task. It was necessary to overturn the tradi-

tions so blindly venerated by them, to tear their souls from the tombs of their fathers, in a word, to transform, to recreate, as it were, their very nature, ere they could be brought to that exaltation of religious feeling which of men makes martyrs.

The first man to essay the teaching of the Protestant faith in China was, as is well known to all the world, Rev. Robert Morrison, an English divine, who arrived there in 1807. His translation of the New Testament (though but partially completed by himself), is one of the noblest services ever rendered by any human hand to the cause of religion. In fact, it is mainly in such enterprises as would for the future facilitate the intercourse of the English missionary with his native flock, that Morrison's success appears. Seven years had elapsed before he brought a convert to the font; but, through the means of his Dictionary, it is impossible to estimate to how many souls the doctrines of redemption have been and will be conveyed. For twenty-seven years he continued his labors in China, and, never unmindful of his church and his native land, he was constantly employed in the service of the one or the other. It was not until 1834 that this faithful servant was called away. A better spent lifetime can perhaps rarely be found; and though it was brought to a close within a score of years less than those allotted by the Psalmist to the days of man, probably few careers of greater length present such an array of useful deeds.

" Circles are praised, not that abound  
In largeness, but the exactly round.  
So life we praise, that does excel,  
Not in much time, but acting well."

The active progress of Morrison and his few and tardy coadjutors was, as has been suggested, but scanty. Various missions were, from time to time, established at Malacca and Penang, at Singapore, Borneo, and Java, in order to operate more freely upon the Chinese beyond the immediate control of their own government; and many books were thus put into circulation. The American and the British missionaries are united in this good work, and their success has been lasting. Immense numbers of books printed in Chinese have been dis-

tributed in every direction throughout the empire, and no effort has been spared to affect the minds of those within their reach. By means of hospitals and dispensaries, where relief is gratuitously administered to the sick and needy, thousands of natives are yearly brought into contact with Christian men, whose secret and prevailing desire is to induce their patients to seek another and an omnipotent Physician. Medical and educational institutions and societies, thoroughly imbued with religious principles, have been put into active operation, as but so many means of attaining the one great end, the evangelization of China; and the missions at Amoy, Hong-kong, Macao, Canton, Fuh-chau-fu, Ning-po, Shang-hai, etc., vigilantly and incessantly toil to bring these wandering sheep into the fold.

Nevertheless, all that has thus far been done in this cause is but as the planting of the seed. We hope that it will germinate,—that it will yield some a hundred, some sixty, some thirty fold; but we must look not in seed-time for the harvest, nor wonder that the manifest good results of the missions in direct regard to their end are yet so small. Indirectly, however, we are justified in recognizing a wide and growing influence, tending towards evangelical progress, throughout some of the chief provinces. The books distributed by the missionaries have probably, to a certain extent, familiarized the minds of the people with the doctrines of the *Tien Chu Kiau*, or religion of the Lord of Heaven;—nay, it is not too much to say, that many are seriously interested in them, though not generally to the extent of perfect conviction. In late years, before the insurrection broke out so violently, there were several public demonstrations of the relaxation of the prejudices previously held against Christians. Such, for instance, were the imperial rescripts of 1844 and 1845, granting to the people toleration of Christianity, whether Romish or Protestant. At present there are about one hundred and twenty Protestant missionaries, of all denominations, in that country; and we could have wished to dwell more at length upon the labors of such men as Medhurst, Boone, Abeel, and, above all, of Gutzlaff; but we must hasten to a consideration of the temporal prospects of the empire.

To the most superficial observer, the lamentable inefficiency

of the Chinese government must be transparently manifest. At the same time one of the most artificial, most cumbrous, and least satisfactory in the world, this form simply consists in the maintenance of the patriarchal system long after the number of the population and the increase of territory have deprived such a system of all the usefulness that it might have originally possessed. In a nomadic state, wandering from place to place, a tribe might reasonably be supposed to find its interest in entire submission to a chief whom it regarded as a father. But when for centuries it has ceased to lead this vagabond life,—when the possession of flocks and herds no longer constitutes the sole wealth of its leaders, and its members are spread in permanent occupancy over vast provinces and kingdoms,—the patriarchal form of government must inevitably become as unfit for the practical well-being of men as it has in China. Here, of course, the Emperor is the head of the nation,—the father of three hundred and sixty millions of children. But his functions and duties are delegated through so many governors and mandarins, of all ranks and grades, and theirs again through so many subordinate officers, that it is utterly impossible, without the greatest purity and capacity on the part of “the powers that be,” that such a form of government can answer the end for which we must suppose all human governments are organized. Accordingly, we find in every rank of officers in China, constant and glaring instances of corruption and tyranny. To enforce the doctrine of strict personal responsibility,—one of the cardinal features of a patriarchal government,—a system of espionage is resorted to by the superior officers towards their inferiors, in itself sufficient to degrade the character of a nation. And as this prevails through every class, our readers may judge what an unhappy state of affairs it must involve.

Notwithstanding the fertility of its soil and the avaricious industry that characterizes its inhabitants, famine frequently presses hard upon the empire; whole provinces are shut out by inundation, or drought, from their accustomed supplies of food; and then bands of beggars infest the roads, five hundred or a thousand strong. These occurrences, springing from temporary causes, we do not bring forward in support of the



argument that seeks to show the wretched condition of the country. But in the testimony of intelligent and impartial European observers, who have passed years among that people, we find ample evidence of the miserable system of tyranny with which the Chinese have long been afflicted. The most venal officials in the Western hemisphere are, we are told, models of purity and disinterestedness in comparison with the mandarins of the Celestial Empire. Everything in the conduct of these lettered magistrates is tainted with corruption; justice belongs to the highest bidder; and public employments are the objects of a shameful traffic. Those literary institutions, which have so often called forth the admiration of the political philosophers of Europe, are, in point of fact, one organized system of pillage. The functionaries who have passed their lives in laborious commentaries upon the text of Confucius hesitate as little in their exactions upon the people, as their own official superiors hesitate in oppressing them. The Son of Heaven, the Sovereign Ruler of the World, shut up in his palace in the vicinity of Peking, lives in almost utter ignorance of what is daily going on in every part of his empire. The exercise of the supreme power is virtually wielded by a band of hypocritical slaves, who form an impenetrable circle around his gilded throne. In the sublime height of his despotic arrogance, this monarch believes himself to be the supreme judge of the whole world,—an illusion which the deference of more powerful states has not a little tended to encourage. It might have been supposed that the result of the Opium War would in a measure lift the veil which had so long concealed from view the weakness of his empire. On the faith of official documents, it has been generally believed that China maintained a standing army of seven hundred thousand; but it now appears that the regular force does not amount to more than sixty thousand, (prætorian bands entirely composed of Mant-chou Tartars, and divided under eight banners,) of whom the majority are retained in the capital, the remainder being distributed in garrisons, etc. through the provinces. There is no doubt but that this army is constituted of the bravest and most respectable materials of the land; but, armed only with bows and arrows, or the cumbrous,

old-fashioned match-lock, their ignorance of modern military tactics would render their opposition of little account in the eyes of a European force. Such as they are, however, they form the main dependence of the imperial throne. But besides this army, China possesses a numerous militia, whose names are enrolled, and who are liable to be at any time called into active service by the proper mandarin of the district. Nevertheless, when such an emergency occurs, experience has demonstrated how little reliance can be placed upon this force. At the hour of need, not one fourth part of those registered answer to the call. Many evade appearing; a larger proportion have no existence. Names are kept upon the roll from year to year, long after their owners are dead and gone, in order to swindle the government (or, more indirectly, the people, who pay the taxes) of the small stipend allowed for their support. Undisciplined, and often lawless, such of the militia as are actually mustered into service are frequently worse than useless. In the English war we find whole bodies positively refusing to meet the enemy, and only raising their arms to attack and plunder their fellow-countrymen. Such are the means on which the Emperor must depend for the resistance of domestic revolt or foreign aggression.

If we look at the state of the Chinese finances, we find them in a confusion no less striking. The imperial revenues, plundered on all sides on their way from the pockets of the people to the treasury at Peking, cannot exceed one hundred millions of dollars in specie; what the duties that are levied in kind, in rice, in tea, in silk, etc., may amount to, is incalculable. But copious and unceasing drains are constantly exhausting this magnificent reservoir as fast as it begins to fill. Several millions are devoted every year by the Emperor to the preservation of those watercourses by means of which internal navigation is carried on, and without which the whole population would be plunged into the most profound misery. Nevertheless, the banks of the canals are constantly falling in, the waters of the rivers are overflowing their dikes, and according to present appearances the Grand Canal itself will be utterly useless in less than thirty years. Where every official to whose care the superintendence of any task is intrusted deems

it his first duty to help himself from the national funds, and to apply as little of them as possible to the objects to which they were appropriated, it is easy to imagine in what condition affairs must be. The deficit is not confined to public works ; it prevails everywhere. In the department of the customs, and in that of monopolies, it is enormous, almost beyond belief. The farmers of the salt revenues alone are in arrears to the government at least three millions of dollars. The hospitals and the public storehouses, established and supported by the government, daily have their revenue devoured by a horde of greedy mandarins and their underlings. It is vain, in the contemplation of these facts, to assert that it is institutions that are wanting to China. She has institutions enough, in all conscience ; but they are, at this period of her history, no longer adapted to her wants. They are like an exhausted vine, which has ceased to produce fruit, and, like the barren fig-tree in the parable, should be cut down and burnt, nor longer suffered to cumber the ground. So long ago as 1787, the famous but unfortunate Lapérouse, had put on record the same facts to which we have now adverted. “ Ce peuple,” said he, “ dont les lois sont si vantées en Europe, est peut-être le peuple le plus malheureux, le plus vexé et le plus arbitrairement gouverné qu’il y ait sur la terre.” It is truly a matter of surprise that such an incompetent rule, such a galling yoke, has not long since been thrown off ; but to the growing discontent of the oppressed people a resistance was opposed by their education and habits. Their respect for ancient customs and traditions, their cold and patient temperament, the severe labor to which they are inured, and, possibly, the instinct of subordination peculiar to the Asiatic race,—all these interlacing bonds of natural and political association which we at this distance cannot perfectly appreciate,—have hitherto united to prevent a general uprising of the people. At the same time, it must be remarked, that with each successive shock the opposing barrier has by insensible degrees become weaker, until gradually the mass of the people were prepared, if not openly to embrace the cause of a successful insurgent, at least to behold with apathy the distress of the government, and to “ mock when their fear cometh.”

So hardy and sagacious a spirit would it require in the Emperor who, refusing to yield blind credence to the false tales and almost idolatrous flatteries of the bigoted and interested horde of mandarins that fill the avenues to his throne, should firmly persist in acquainting himself with the real condition of his subjects, and in redressing their wrongs, that such a personage could hardly have been expected in the present crisis. The later years of the last sovereign, however, afforded some indications of this sort, and, imperfect as his reforms were, gave room to hope that his successor, with the aid of all the advantages that youthful energy and popularity always bestow upon a king, might go on triumphantly in the path thus opened. Tao-kouang, who in 1820 came to the throne, had already displayed a degree of presence of mind and resolute will sufficient to warrant the hope that the changes in his policy, which were caused by the consequences of his war with Great Britain, would be permanent. The disgraceful reverses sustained by this monarch in that affair seem to have effectually opened his eyes to the mendacious or stupid theories of his ministers; and though his mind was not sufficiently enlightened to ordain a radical change, for the future, of the men as well as the measures through whose misrule such disasters had been brought about, he suffered the chief mandarins Ki-in and Mou-tchang-ha, the leaders of what may be termed the progressive party, to attain and exercise a high degree of influence in his counsels. But notwithstanding that the plans of these officers, if carried out, were those only that could save the empire from overthrow, and procure for the people some relief from the heavy burdens under which they labored, they were universally unpopular. The herd of leeches who had so long battered on the body politic hated them, not less for the prospect they held out of a vindictive reform in the administration of public business, than for the innovations and novelties they introduced into the time-honored fabric under which their ancestors had lived and died. The national vanity was not a little shocked at the conduct of men, who, with the triumphant roar of the English cannon still echoing in their ears, and the English flag still waving in the breeze over the blackened walls of Chin-kiang-fou,

hesitated not to acknowledge the prowess of the invaders. The treaty of peace made under the very walls of Nankin, with its exacting provision of the payment of some twenty-four millions of dollars, brought no conviction to the bigoted minds of the Chinese. It was not possible for them to conceive that the whole business amounted to anything more than a piratical foray in which the strangers had been signally repulsed. The withdrawal of the English forces was hailed as their defeat; and the levies that had been drawn from the more distant parts of the empire, returning to the provinces without having ever even seen the enemy, bore their banners exultingly through the land as they shouted: "Our flag was unrolled, and our enemies fled before its presence!" Severe as was the lesson, it was all in vain. These infatuated Pagans learned nothing from it, save only to hate and deride the few wiser heads that candidly confessed the lamentable inferiority of Chinese military strategy to that of "the foreign devils."

Thus things went on till the death of Tao-kouang, and the accession of his son,—an event thus picturesquely described by MM. Callery and Yvan.

"On the 26th of February, 1850, at seven o'clock in the morning, the entrances to the imperial palace of Pekin were obstructed by a dense throng of mandarins of the inferior orders, and servants in white dresses and yellow girdles, who spoke in a whisper, and wore an aspect of official grief on their countenances. In the midst of this ocean of subalterns were stationed sixteen persons, each accompanied by a groom, who held a horse saddled and bridled. These sixteen persons wore the satin cap tied under the chin and surmounted by a white ball; also a girdle hung with bells; a tube of yellow color was slung diagonally over their shoulders, and they held in their hand a long whip. One of the high dignitaries came out from the palace, and with his own hands gave each of these men a folded document, sealed with the red seal of the Emperor. The sixteen, after bowing to receive it, swung round the tube, which, with the exception of its yellow color, perfectly resembled the tin cylinders in which soldiers, released from service, inclose their *congé*. In this they respectfully placed the official despatch; after which they mounted on horseback; while the grooms secured them on the saddle with thongs that passed over their thighs. When they were firmly fixed, the crowd gave way, and the horses set off at full speed.

These sixteen horsemen, who are called *Féi-ma*, or 'flying couriers,' had each of them to perform in twenty-four hours a journey of six hundred *li*, or sixty leagues French. Their office was to carry the following despatch to the Governors-general of the sixteen provinces of the Celestial Empire : —

“The Board of Rites gives notice in great haste to the Governor-general, that on the fourteenth of the first moon, the Supreme Governor, mounted on a dragon, departed for the ethereal regions. At the hour *mao* in the morning, his Celestial Majesty transmitted the imperial dignity to his fourth son, Se-go-ko, and in the evening, at the hour *hai*, he set out for the abode of the gods.”

At the early age of nineteen, then, Se-go-ko, the fourth son of the late Emperor, ascended the throne, assuming at the same time the name of *Hiên-foung*; and almost the first act of his reign was to reverse the train of policy that had hardly been set in motion by his predecessor. The leading reformers of the old ministry were ignominiously dismissed from office, and the monarch, in the most public manner, announced his decided intention to return to the ancient ideas that had formerly prevailed with undoubted sway. The folly of this procedure was, however, but too soon made manifest. Close upon the heels of this change in the ministry followed the arrival at the capital of the news of the insurrection of the *Kouang-si*.

We have already alluded to the numerous and just causes of disaffection towards their rulers that existed among the Chinese people, but we have not as yet referred to the chief method which the more daring among them had undertaken in order to obtain the means of redress. This was the formation of secret societies, whose real object was undoubtedly to procure for their members a cessation of the injuries with which they were affected. For many years such institutions have existed in China, and their origin is palpably traceable to the maladministration of the government and to the necessity experienced by the people of thus associating together to accomplish some desired end, or to provide the better for their common security. Therefore, though political objects were the ultimate design of their organization, they are always tinged by some form of religious creed. The most consid-

erable of these is the Tien-tí hwui, or San-hoh hwui, i. e. the Triad Society. It was formerly known by the title of the Pih-lien kiau, or Water-lily Sect, but having been proscribed by the government, it sought by this alteration of name, and some other slight changes, to evade the operation of the laws. In fact, it still subsists in some of the remoter provinces under its old name and organization. The known and indeed almost openly avowed object of this society has been, for many years, the overturn of the Mant-chou dynasty. About fifty years ago its members excited a bold and wide-spread rebellion in the middle and northwestern provinces, which was suppressed only after eight years of obstinate and bloody war. Their ruling purpose they have never relinquished, and it is to them, in all human probability, that the present struggle is to be attributed. The forms of this society are said to be very similar in theory, as are also its putative objects, to those of our Masonic bodies. Secrecy and obedience are its cardinal principles. The novice is initiated with certain absurd ceremonies, passing under an archway of naked swords into the presence of an idol, where, while he takes the oath of eternal silence, a cock, the emblem, since the days of Æsop, of inopportune loquacity, is sacrificed before him. Like the Masons, too, they have their signs and passwords, by which to recognize each other and to render mutual aid. The members adhere to one another through thick and thin, and, it must be confessed, have not scrupled to persecute and oppress those who regarded their combination with disfavor or treated it as illegal. In 1845, the English at Hong-kong enacted, that any Chinese in that colony proved to be a member of the Triad Society should be punished as for felony, with three years' imprisonment, branding, and expulsion from their confines. The reason that persuaded the "red-haired devils" to this act of rigor consisted in the fact that the Triad Society in Hong-kong, towards all who did not belong to their body, was little better than a nest of robbers. In addition to this most important sect, there are many others more or less connected with it, such as the Wan-kiang, or Incense-burning Sect, etc., which need not be cited here. Their objects are generally the same, though their organization may slightly differ.

The magnificent province of the Kouang-si formed a school admirably adapted for the first movements of revolution. In no part of the world has nature assumed a more picturesque, a more mysterious aspect, than in this singular region. Fantastic crags, bearing those remarkable resemblances to animate objects that have so often attracted the wonder or the worship of ignorance and superstition, rear high their lofty heads. In the whispering murmurs of the tree-tops that throw their dark, deep shade over the scene, the awe-struck native seems to hear the voice of stones apparently instinct with and ready to burst into actual, breathing life. Through mountain defiles, foaming torrents bound headlong from rock to rock, and drown in their roar the faint notes of the few herds that find a scanty subsistence on their banks. It is here that the Miautsze — the dreaded “men-wolves” of the dwellers in Peking or Canton (who invest these hated tribes with the monstrous attributes of unnatural prodigies) — live on the steep mountain-sides, beneath the brown shadows of their ancient forests. And it was here that the band of refugees and rebels, who had resolved on an armed resistance to the yoke they had already refused to obey, assembled. The obscurity of this little-frequented district rendered it easy for them to mould undisturbedly their forces into warlike coherence and form; and the prospect of finding an impenetrable retreat in the event of a repulse, and useful allies in the event of success, among the hardy Miautsze, lent wings to their hopes, and materially aided them in their earlier essays.

It was early in the year 1850 that the insurrection first began to develop itself in the Kouang-si. As the rebels increased in numbers, and their successes in the few encounters they had with the imperial troops became more public, they moved slowly through the southwestern portions of the province, until finally they entered Kouang-toung. These movements, being known at Canton and Peking, caused no little alarm, and the Emperor, in the violence of his indignation, instantly ordered the mandarin Lin to take command in the rebellious districts, and to exterminate the offenders. Nothing could give a better idea of the imperial policy than this step. Lin, though past the prime of life, was famous for his inflexible



adherence to the ancient school of government. It was his conduct in relation to the destruction of the opium-chests, that had plunged his country into the English war; and had he survived long enough to engage in active operations against the rebels, he probably would have displayed an equal amount of obstinacy and stupidity. Fortunately for himself, however, he died on the route, at the close of the year 1850; but he had lived long enough to hear the proclamation put forth by the rebels, in which, for the first time, they avowed their intention of getting possession of the throne at the earliest opportunity. The person first put forward as the rival claimant of the throne was a youth named Tien-te, an alleged descendant of the Mings, about twenty-four years old. According to Callery and Yvan, who put full faith in the story, Tien-te was of a grave temperament, of solitary habits, and of an unbending will. His proportions, though not those of an athlete, were good. His complexion indicated his origin to have been in the southern provinces of China. So far we follow our authors; but we at the same time believe that they have, in the rest of their story, been most ridiculously gulled. Tien-te, whatever his origin and condition, was never anything but the merest tool in the hands of Houng-siu-tsiuen, who kept him during his life carefully shrouded from the public gaze, and used the mystery thus caused for the furtherance of his own ends. Whether or not it was really Tien-te who a little later was captured and executed by the government, we cannot now say. But it is certain that he was extinct, and that Houng-siu-tsiuen had openly assumed the head of the enterprise, by the middle of March, 1853. It is probable enough that the latter, being an able and dexterous man, had provided the means of carrying out this imposture (if we consider it as an imposture) to just the required length, and then quietly suffered Tien-te to sink into oblivion, or captivity and death. Time alone can show the truth of the case.

Still, at the commencement of the outbreak we find Tien-te asserted to be a lineal descendant of the ancient Mings, whose dynasty he was to restore, and with it the happy days and institutions of that period, which were terminated by the Mant-chou irruption. It is just possible that Tien-te was a

descendant of that royal house; for we know so little of his antecedents as to be barely able to refuse credence to certain writers who boldly pronounce him altogether a myth,—a fabulous creation, with no actual existence. But certainly he had no legitimate pretensions to the crown upon that score. The constitutional history of China teaches but one rule of succession, which is that

“ They should take who have the power,  
And they should keep who can.”

If ever might makes right in any country, it is in this, where one race of kings supervenes another by dint of no other argument than the popular will, as expressed by the poorest but most palpable of all evidences, the force of arms.

By the commencement of 1851, the insurrection had assumed the aspect of a civil war; and the most serious efforts of the government to reduce it to at least its original condition utterly failed. Forced loans were exacted, with no sparing hand, from the wealthy merchants of Canton, and the prime-minister of the empire, with two of the chief mandarins, was sent to the revolted province of Kouang-si, where the conduct of affairs under the charge of the viceroy, Siu, had not been such as to inspire any great confidence in his ultimate success. Nevertheless, things daily assumed a more dangerous aspect. An attempt was even made, in July, 1851, upon the Emperor's life, which, though it failed, and the assassin, as well as eighteen mandarins suspected of complicity in the plot, were hurried off to instant death, yet served to show to the sovereign that treason lurked under his very roof-tree.\* About the same

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\* This custom of punishing the innocent with the guilty is one of the most abominable parts of the Chinese criminal code, and yet of such universal prevalence, that there is not the slightest exaggeration in an amusing sketch of the late Mr. Sealy's, which narrates the result of a complaint made by a Man of Letters against his son-in-law, a Yellow Girdle (or member of the imperial kindred), for conjugal harshness. The brutal husband is slain, and his body cut into small pieces, one of which is sent to every square *li* throughout the empire, and stuck upon a thorn. His ten nearest relatives are strangled; and his wife, the original *causa belli*, is strangled likewise. His servants each receive two hundred lashes, and the old father-in-law five hundred; the allowance of pay and rice to all the Yellow Girdles of the empire is suspended for three years; and the chief mandarin of the city is hung at his own door!

time, Tien-te ventured upon a new mode of publishing his pretensions. A coinage bearing his inscription was struck and speedily put into extensive circulation. Nothing could be better devised than this scheme, to familiarize the minds of the people with the notion of his advent to power. And whilst city after city was falling into their hands, the hearts of the insurgents were kept exasperated by the public execution at Canton of hundreds of their comrades who had fallen into the clutches of the government. Still, however, the walled city of Kouei-lin, the capital of the Kouang-si, in which were installed the viceroy and his choicest troops, resisted their hopes of its capture.

The whole of Kouang-si, with the solitary exception of Kouei-lin, having now submitted to the rebels, they passed its boundaries, and made themselves masters of Kao-tcheou-fou, a city in the adjoining province of Canton. Hence they issued a proclamation which is important, as showing the first tokens of what we believe to be the secret of their organization. To the popular idea that this is a Christian movement, secretly guided and controlled by native converts, or possibly by some bold, designing spirit from Europe, we have never lent a moment's credence. We think there can be no doubt that the insurrection is composed of different bands, each having its own specific object in view, and united only against a common foe. In the proclamation we have referred to, Tien-te, or his mouth-piece, announces that the Tartar rule is about to terminate, and that the sons of Han will once more wield the supreme power. But he goes on to add, that, with their fall, the realms so long united under the Mant-chou sceptre are to be divided; and in this the real object of the insurgent chiefs is undoubtedly made manifest. The epoch when Peking shall fall into their hands is announced as the period when they will proceed to a division of the kingdom.

This address is said to have been the composition of Houng-siu-tsiuen, the most astute and able of the rebel chiefs, who has assumed the title of King Tai-ping, or Grand Pacificator. This man's counsels appear to have entirely governed the motions of the young Tien-te, and have undoubtedly led to much of his success, as well as to the favor his cause has found

in the eyes of Christendom. In fact, certain passages in the address very plainly indicate it to have been the work of one familiar with the Christian doctrines, and convinced of their truth; and curiosity was not a little stimulated to know what manner of man he might be whose hand had penned this remarkable document. From the Rev. Mr. Yates, a Baptist missionary in China, the following letter has been received and published in this country. We are inclined to believe it in the main to be correct in its statements. We give it at length, merely premising that the Hung-Suchen and the Quang-See of the letter are but a different orthography for Houang-siu-tsiuen and Kouang-si:—

“Shang-hai, September 22, 1853.

“There are at present stopping in our mission two lads, whose identity is not known, except to our mission. One, a boy of fifteen, is the son of the ‘Southern King,’ the other, a lad of eighteen or twenty, who was on last Sabbath received into our church by baptism, is the nephew and adopted son of the ‘Southern King’ (one of the four great leaders of the rebellion in China). From these young men (the elder of whom is well acquainted with all the circumstances that led to the first hostile demonstrations), we have been able to get correct information touching the origin of the rebellion.

“From these young men we learn that Hung-Suchen (at present known as ‘Tai-ping-Wong’), having embraced the Christian religion, destroyed every sign of idolatry about his house and school-room (for he was a teacher of a high school), and gave much attention to publishing the Gospel. Disciples to the new doctrine multiplied rapidly. Soon this innovation upon the ancient customs attracted the attention of the authorities of Quang-See; for it was in this interior province, far removed from foreign influence, that this new thing started.

“The authorities in question attempted to crush this new religion by persecution, but this only attracted attention to it. Finding that the new sect was daily and rapidly increasing, they (the civil and military authorities) beheaded two of the disciples, thinking that this rigid measure would suppress this disorderly body. But so far from having this effect, they (the Christians, who had increased by this time to quite a considerable number) took up arms in defence of their religion, and called upon God to aid and defend them.

“The imperialists, in an engagement with them, were routed with great loss. The Christian army increased rapidly, till they were able

to withstand any force that might be brought against them. The Christian army was now fairly committed. They well knew that they must be delivered from the bondage of the imperial yoke, both civil and religious, or death was certain. They formed the design of subverting the government, with the intention of establishing in its stead a liberal and Christian government.

"They issued tracts and circulars, in which they attacked the abuses and corruptions of the civil authorities and the religious teachers, etc. They destroyed idols, and circulated portions of the Scriptures and religious tracts, and preached to the people a purer religion. All this, strange to say, secured them the favor of the people, and their thousand was soon multiplied. Thus Hung Suchen commenced about three years ago. Since then, he has fought many battles.

"In every place he exposes the corruptions of the mandarins and priests, destroys idols, circulates the Scriptures and religious tracts (many of which are his own productions, in which, of course, there are many errors), and preaches the Gospel. His main army is now before Peking. Considering all the circumstances of the present rebellion in China, viewed either in a civil or religious point of view, it is without a parallel in the history of the world."

The chiefs of the insurgents may be briefly summed up as follows. First on the list we must place Tien-te, their nominal leader, an alleged descendant of the Mings, whose name served as a rallying-point for all who looked with hope to the revival of the ancient glories and traditions of the empire, and the restoration of a native line of princes. After him, but perhaps each possessing more real power, came the four tributary Kings, as they were called, of the East, the West, the North, and the South, Hiang, Siao, Wei, and Founq. Each of these men was doubtless the head of a band of insurgents, and each, counting upon a province as his independent kingdom, united cordially with his brothers in the great work before them. As for Hounq-siu-tsiuen, — who was, it is said, originally a disappointed candidate for office, a Man of Letters, and a leader in the Triad Society, — he is possibly the next Emperor of China. He is probably a native of Canton and a semi-Christian, and it is no doubt to him and to his immediate followers that we owe the numerous documents upon which the belief in the religious character of the rebellion is based. Probably, too, the same principles may prevail to a less extent among

the bands of Foungh-hièn-san, the King of the South, whose history seems closely similar to that of the Great Pacificator. Be that as it may, however, it is very evident that, at the best, but a portion of the main body of the rebels is even slightly inclined to Christianity, while the remainder hold it in no esteem whatsoever.

The correctness of our views of this affair is confirmed by the two subsidiary movements in the great island of Hai-nan, lying south of the province of Canton; and in the province of Hou-nan, lying to the north. In each of these districts, the rising was probably encouraged by messages from the chiefs gathered around Kouei-lin, but it was essentially a local and independent movement, and perfectly successful. Everywhere the rebels triumphed, while in the Kouang-si, the old viceroy, Siu, in an attempt to retrieve his falling fortunes, incurred for the imperial arms a defeat as disgraceful as it was ludicrous. This old fool had gathered together four thousand buffaloes, to whose horns were attached resinous torches. The torches were lighted, and the beasts were driven by night, with a large body of imperialists following close at their heels, towards the enemy's camp. By this notable device, the viceroy thought to inspire such terror and confusion among his enemies as to render them an easy prey; but the stratagem recoiled on his own head, and his troops were cut to pieces. Finding this experiment not very satisfactory, Siu hit upon another, scarcely less admirable. A strong force was detached from his army, and sent to Peking, having in guard a prisoner alleged to be no other than Tien-te. Arrived at the capital, the alleged pretender was speedily executed, and a long "last dying speech and confession" published to the world. The trick took; the imperialists congratulated each other; and for a season who so great as the viceroy Siu? But presently tidings were received from the mountains of Kouang-si; and lo! Tien-te was as much alive as ever. The mock tale of his execution was solely the device of Siu, who by this means elevated his fame as a statesman to a rank not inferior to that he had acquired in the battle of the buffaloes as a general. Were it not, however, that we rely firmly on the narrative of MM. Callery and Yvan on this point, we should be disposed to believe Siu's captive to have been no other than Tien-te.

Three of the eighteen provinces were now in the hands of the rebels, and the island of Formosa, which, with the revolted Hai-nan, controls almost the whole coast-trade, was in a very seditious state. At last, however, a few partial successes smiled upon the imperial arms, and at Tchao-tcheou-fou and Young-tcheou-fou the enemy were repulsed. Hitherto, the conduct of Tien-te's army had been praiseworthy in an eminent degree. No pillage, no lawless disorder, followed in their path. Wherever they went, private property was respected; the government officials only were called upon to tremble at their approach. But, infuriated by their unwonted defeats, they stormed the wealthy city of Kouei-yang in the Hou-nan, put the principal officers to death, and exacted heavy contributions from all the inhabitants; and in September, 1852, established their head-quarters at Hing-gan in the immediate vicinity of Kouei-lin, where was ensconced their constant opponent, the viceroy Siu, and the year closed upon renewed defeats in every quarter of the Tartar party; while the Mant-chou sovereign, in default of the power to work his will upon the rebels themselves, occupied himself in punishing his own officers who had unsuccessfully opposed them. In every quarter of the empire, rebellion uplifted its head, and gave the local authorities more than sufficient employment in holding their own. The finances at Peking were in a dreadfully embarrassed state, and by an edict of "the vermilion pencil" of Hien-foung himself, almost every rank and dignity that a subject could hope to attain through influence or merit was exposed for sale. Surely a more besotted scheme than this was never conceived. To intrust, in such a crisis, the most important posts to the hands of men whose sole known capacity lay in the number of taels they could afford to put down in the treasury, was virtually to abandon almost every prospect of ultimate triumph.

Nor did the year 1853 open upon more favorable prospects. On the 12th of January, the city of Ou-tchang, the capital of the Hou-pe, fell into the hands of the rebels; and the news of this reverse sufficed to spread fear and confusion far and wide among the friends of the government, who occupied themselves in assembling the discordant and frequently licentious

population that were willing to enroll themselves under the imperial banners. But the insurgents had already arrived in force at the waters of the great river Yang-tze-kiang, and, slowly following the course of this stream, had successively seized the important cities that are built upon its upper waters; till at last, with a fleet of junks, respectable enough in a military point of view for the purposes of Chinese hostilities, and with an army of fifty thousand men, they seated themselves, in the spring of 1853, before the walls of Nankin.

Nankin is one of the most important of the Chinese cities, whether as regards population, wealth, or social influence. Its spacious warehouses receive the produce of the vast rice-fields that furnish so large a proportion of the sustenance of the nation. No less than twenty-eight millions of souls inhabit the province of which it is the *entrepôt*; and large fleets crowd its wharves to bear away its surplus produce to the marts of Canton and Pekin. It may readily be conceived that the prospect of the loss of this city, or even of its being actually besieged by land and by water, was fraught with dismal forebodings for the future, and with untoward sentiments of present annoyance and commercial distress to the dwellers in the royal palace. In this emergency, however, Hien-foung acted with his accustomed promptitude. Heavily fell his hand upon all of his officers who had failed in subduing or in bribing the enemy. Old Siu was publicly disgraced, and in the arms of a young and attractive wife the Emperor sought to find that solace and comfort which his mandarins had failed to afford him. All was in vain, however; in the month of April, 1853, Nankin fell into the power of his rival.

But before we trace the further progress of the insurgents, let us turn aside for a moment to notice the nature of the various books and documents which, during their siege of Nankin, they found opportunity to diffuse through the adjacent country. The most striking of these is, perhaps, a proclamation, issued evidently in an unofficial manner, but probably by some one in high authority in their camp. In this paper, the people are warned to continue in their business quietly, leaving to the army of Tien-te the task of driving out the Mant-chous. Europeans are significantly notified to attend



to their own affairs, and to keep aloof from those of China, until the son of the Mings shall be in a position to instruct them in the position they are henceforth to occupy; and "as for the stupid priests of Buddha, and the jugglers of Tao-se," we are told "they must all be put down, and their temples and monasteries, as well as those of all other corrupt sects, must be demolished." Whether the author of this menacing epistle be a member of the Christian Union of Gutzlaff, or a disciple of Confucius, it is difficult to guess. We incline to the latter opinion. At all events, the document is valuable only as serving to show the state of feeling in a portion of the rebel camp.

The remaining documents to which we shall refer admit of a very different construction. One of these works is entitled "The Book of Religious Precepts of the Taeping Dynasty." It opens with the announcement of several doctrinal points, which are evidently so foreign to the native and educational bent of the mind of a purely Chinese student, that they must have been inspired by the garbled recollections of the teachings of some stranger. Fortunately, the occasional coincidence, both in expression and in thought, with passages from Christian works already issued in that tongue, leave us under no difficulty in pointing out their origin. The first sentence — "Who has ever lived in the world without offending against the commands of Heaven?" — conveys the idea of universal, if not of original sin. The author then goes on to say that "until this time no one has ever known how to obtain deliverance from sin"; and that "now the great God has made a gracious communication to man: and from henceforth whosoever repents of his sins may ascend to heaven." These, so far as they go, are good, Christian doctrines, and must be of Christian origin, since neither they, nor the pictures of the future state of mankind, embracing the two conditions of endless bliss and of endless torment, are to be found in any form among the writings of Confucius. But in the following hymn the scheme of redemption is set forth as plainly as could be desired by the most evangelical writer: —

"How different are the true doctrines from the doctrines of the world!  
They save the souls of men, and lead to the enjoyment of endless bliss:  
The wise receive them with exultation, as the source of their happiness:  
The foolish, when awakened, understand thereby the way to heaven.

Our Heavenly Father, of his great mercy and unbounded goodness,  
 Spared not his first-born Son, but sent him down into the world  
 To give his life for the redemption of all our transgressions,  
 The knowledge of which, coupled with repentance, saves the souls of  
 men."

The author proceeds to announce that forgiveness of sins is the result of repentance and prayer; that prayers may be according to a set form or not; but that they must be regularly offered at morning and evening, at every meal, and on all extraordinary occasions, and upon the Sabbath in increased number. The forms of prayer put forth in the book, by way of assisting such "weaker brethren" as may find it difficult to compose for themselves, are all offered through the intercession of Jesus, and most of them contain allusions to the saving grace of the Holy Ghost. They all, too, seem framed upon the model of the Lord's Prayer. Compare, for instance, the following, paragraph by paragraph:—

"Our Father which art in heaven:	"We pray the great God, our Heavenly Father, which art in heaven.
"Hallowed be thy name:	
"Thy kingdom come:	
"Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven:	"Thy will be done on earth as it is done in heaven:
"Give us this day our daily bread.	"Every day bestow upon us food and clothing:
"Forgive us our sins, &c.	"Forgive our frequent transgressions;
"Lead us not into temptation;	"Never allow us to be deceived by demons;
"But deliver us from evil.	"Deliver us from the Evil One;
"Amen."	"This is our heart's sincere desire."

It should be mentioned that the fourth clause of the prayer, as above quoted from the "Book of Religious Precepts," is perfectly identical with the corresponding passage in the New Testament of Medhurst and Gutzlaff, issued in 1835; and that other portions of the same prayer bear also a great resemblance to the version referred to. Other prayers are not so unexceptionable. There are prayers for the dead, and forms

for the sacrificial offering of animals, wine, tea, and rice, to God, upon any suitable occasion; the authority for which is certainly not derived from the New Testament. That the religious recollections of the compiler of the Book of Precepts, however, were drawn from various missionary sources, is abundantly evident. The doxology published by the American Baptist Mission, in 1848, finds a prominent place among them:—

“We praise God, our holy Heavenly Father:

We praise Jesus, the holy Lord and Saviour of the world:

We praise the Holy Spirit, the Sacred Intelligence:

We praise the three persons, who united constitute one true Spirit (God).”

The insurgents' version of the Ten Commandments is by no means literally copied from the translations of the various missionaries. The first and second they render, “Thou shalt worship God,” and “Thou shalt not worship any evil spirits”; phrases not employed in any of the missionary works that we are acquainted with. In general, however, it is easy to see that the writings of the American Presbyterian and Baptist missionaries were present to the mind of the compiler. Some of his ideas of the Sacraments are rather oddly expressed. A penitent seeking forgiveness is bidden to take a basin of water and wash himself clean; or if he perform his ablutions in the river, it will be so much the better. This is supposed to embody some rude notions of Baptism. As for the celebration of the Eucharist, there does not appear the remotest allusion to it in any of the religious treatises of the rebels.

“The Trimetrical Classic” is another important pamphlet put forth by the insurgents; but its contents have already been given to the public in the volume of MM. Callery and Yvan. In Mr. Oxenford's supplementary chapter is published a literal translation of this singular production. We will only remark that the earlier portion of the Trimetrical Classic, narrating the history of the race of Israel, is evidently taken from Medhurst's and Gutzlaff's New Testament of 1836, and Gutzlaff's Old Testament of 1844. This is very ingeniously shown by the comparison of the names of persons and places. For instance, the word for Israel in the Classic is E-sih-leë: in

Gutzlaff and Medhurst, it is the same ; while in Morrison, Milne, and Afah, it is E-sih-urh-e-lih. So Egypt is termed by the Classic, Mih-se. It was rendered thus by Gutzlaff and Medhurst, following the Hebrew form, while Drs. Morrison and Milne, adopting the Greek pronunciation, express it by E-che-pe-to. It would consume too much space to follow this tract through its absurd but interesting length, where the author assumes the character of the Son of God. Our readers can find it in full in the volume above referred to.

“The Book of Celestial Decrees and Declarations of the Imperial Will” is one of the least satisfactory to the heart of the true Christian among all that have been laid before us. It professes to contain nothing less than a series of direct revelations from God the Heavenly Father, and Jesus the celestial elder brother, to the leaders of the host, extending through the years 1848, 1849, 1851, and 1852. With these are given a series of commands or general orders from the chief to his followers. The unity of a God of infinite attributes, to whom all earthly kings and governors are strictly responsible, is one of the first truths taught in this tract, and taught on the alleged ground of a special interview with the Deity. Then follows a celestial decree of obedience and subordination on the part of the army towards their leader, who is represented as having been expressly sent down from heaven by the Almighty to execute his behests. The accounts of the teachings of Jesus, who is said to have frequently manifested himself during the last five years to the Chinese, are very strange. He tells them, indeed, to be at peace among themselves, and to avoid contracting feuds and enmities ; to find out the way to heaven, and to walk in it ; also, that self-indulgence is not likely to produce heroes, while the endurance of suffering will be followed by exalted dignity. But his more frequent exhortations, according to this publication, consist of such counsels as the following : “When you go into the ranks to fight, you must not retreat. If you do, do not be surprised if I order you to be put to death. You must conquer, with united heart and strength, the hills and rivers. You should not go into the villages to seize people’s goods, and when you get money, you must make it public.” On one occasion Jesus is

represented as scolding the people very much, for having secreted for themselves what they had obtained.

The object of this little volume is very evident. By inspiring his host with the faith that he is the favorite of supernal powers, and that his decrees are but the emanations of the Divine Will, the chief adds a new weight to his authority, and makes assurance of their obedience doubly sure.

To return to the active progress of the war, — having occupied the two great cities of Nankin and Tchen-kiang-fou, (the latter of which has, in our own days, given a title to an English peer,) the insurgents, according to their custom, paused for some time ere they took their next step. In the mean while, anarchy and confusion reigned everywhere about them. The old forms of government were superseded, but no well-working order had been established in their place. In fact, the policy of the leaders seems to be to hold on to any position they may have won till the pervading spirit of disaffection, which is their strongest ally, shall have gained sufficient violence to enable them to find in the very heart of the next spot towards which they turn their faces numerous and active friends. Thus they have gone on slowly, taking here and there a town, till, in the course of three years, the wealthiest and most important provinces have fallen into their hands; and thus did they proceed from Nankin. Their residence there, however, was marked by one hideous blot. The Tartar population of Nankin amounted to twenty thousand souls, eight thousand of whom were regular soldiers. The regular rebel force also was estimated at eight thousand strong; but they were recruited by at least twenty-five thousand militia, (if we may so term them), who had gathered around their banners from the districts through which they had marched. Almost the first thing these cruel men did, when they had the city completely in their power, was to murder in cold blood every Mant-chou they could find. No sex or age was spared; and of the twenty thousand within the walls, scarcely a hundred escaped. Occurrences like these we must now continue to look for until the close of the war. The bitter vengeance which the Pekin Emperor will wreak upon the rebels, should it ever be in his power so to do, may be readily predicted from

the samples of his disposition towards them that we have already seen; while they, in turn, have apparently resolved upon the utter extermination of the pure Mant-chou race.

Thus far, the want of a fleet had prevented the insurgents from dislodging their foes from their seats upon the rivers and in the chief maritime cities; but internal treachery was hastening to their aid, and on the 19th of May, 1853, Amoy, one of the five ports open to Europeans, fell into their hands. The combat was a severe one; and the imperialist admiral was so little discouraged by the result, as almost immediately to attempt a recapture. He was, however, completely repulsed. About the same time, the two cities of Chang-chow and Tangwa were taken by the rebels, and the imperial authorities there put to death. But the inhabitants, finding themselves sufficiently strong to speak their own minds, positively refused to permit the regular rebel forces to prescribe to them either the men or the manner of government to whose conduct affairs should be intrusted, and resolved, for the future, to govern themselves. On the 7th of September, however, the most alarming blow, which, in the eyes of Europeans, the Tartar dynasty had yet received, was dealt at Shang-hai. It would seem, from our accounts, that this measure was entirely brought about by the exertions of the Triad Society, ten thousand of whom were to be found among the population. Doubtless there was a secret communication maintained between the rebel camp and these persons; but the latter alone undertook and accomplished the seizure of the city. Samgwa, the Taou-tae, evaded by concealment the doom of his subordinate officers, and in the general confusion that ensued made his escape from the streets through which he had so often been escorted in all the pomp of Oriental power. But his dominion was gone; and its fall struck new terror into the hearts of the despot at Peking and the myrmidons by whom he was surrounded. From the mountain chains of the empire the hardest Tartar troops were forthwith summoned to the defence of the royal city; while the vaticinations of his people reached even the reluctant ear of the Emperor, and their countenances, "wherein, as in a book, men read strange tidings," pictured to him his approaching downfall.

But in the darkest hour of night, there is ever a symptom of the coming day. In the thickest clouds of despair, occasional rifts will occur, showing the far blue beyond. At this juncture, to the astonishment of all, the success of the rebels began to falter. This was partly owing, no doubt, to their distance from the provinces where their force had been cradled. The insurgents were not suffered peaceably to retain possession of the important cities of Amoy and Shang-hai. The former was recaptured by the imperialists early in November, 1853, and a series of bloody reprisals immediately ensued. The leader in the local *emeute* that had originally driven the authorities from the town was executed, and from the neighborhood around, all the known sympathizers with the rebels, to the number of at least one thousand persons, were dragged, in cold blood, to death. And at this time the insurgent army had marched to the town of Giuken, scarce sixty miles from Peking! However, by their severity and power, the mandarins speedily restored order in Amoy, and things go on there just as quietly and smoothly, to all appearance, as though there had never been any insurrection at all. Such is Chinese character.

During the whole of November, the rebels were spreading their forces in every direction in the more immediate vicinity of Peking, and neglecting entirely the three great steps that were open to them, either of which, if successful, would have inevitably hastened the downfall of the existing throne; namely, the relief of the besieged towns of Shang-hai and Amoy by cutting to pieces the beleaguering forces, and the storming of Peking, which would be the last scene of all to crown this strange drama. The imperialists, on the other hand, have displayed at this crisis more energy than they had ever before exhibited. We have seen how they carried Amoy. Their next *coup d'essai* was at Shang-hai. But this city, though besieged with all the power of the imperial forces, by land as well as by sea, has hitherto resisted, in every practical sense, all their efforts. In vain have they mastered the suburbs, and penetrated into the town: the rebels continue to hold out gallantly against their enemy.

In the interior, however, while the imperialist fleet was en-

deavoring to recapture Chin-kiang-foo, the rebels were subsisting in great ease and comfort at Nankin. The French war-steamer Cassini ascended to this port during the month of December last, and reported that on her passage up she encountered hundreds of boats, loaded with men on their way to reinforce their comrades at Chin-kiang. It must have been a curious spectacle to behold these people, as they eagerly pressed about the steamer, demanding the sale of pikes, guns, cutlasses, or any weapons of war, in which they were sadly deficient. Their heads were bare, their hair flowed in unshorn tresses, and their raiment shone brilliantly with the most costly silken stuffs that the plundered warehouses of Nankin could yield, as they passed on with joyous shouts, as to a festival. And whilst all this was going on, and whilst their sympathizers at Amoy were baring their throats to the executioner, the main force of the rebels had approached so near to Peking that Tien-tsien was already theirs, and the imperial city itself was closely beleaguered. Indeed, it is not impossible that, ere these pages fall beneath the public eye, the news of the capture of the capital of Hien-foung may reach this country, and the last of the Mant-chou emperors have hidden his dishonored head in flight, captivity, or the grave. To speculate upon such a contingency is not unreasonable; for while it is within the limits of probability that the imperial forces, relieved from the sieges of Amoy and Shang-hai, may retrace their way to Peking, and successfully encounter the army of the Tae-ping, yet it is more likely that, before any such event can take place, Peking will fall.

Let us suppose such a catastrophe to ensue; what will be the probable consequences? In the first place, the death or disappearance of Hien-foung — a youth not long identified with the history of his empire, and without posterity capable of rallying the *disjecta membra* of his party around him — will nominally put an end to the struggle. His line will be blotted out from the Asiatic Almanach de Saxe-Gotha, — if there be such a work in that quarter of the globe, — and the Tae-ping will succeed to — what? To an unbroken, undivided empire? We do not believe it. It is probable enough that he may maintain a sort of feudal suzerainty, himself the ruler over



a splendid kingdom, and preserving a certain superiority over a half-dozen of less powerful potentates. But it is in the last degree unlikely that Chinese Tartary and Thibet will any longer maintain their present relations to the Chinese empire. These countries — as large as two thirds of Europe — have little or no sympathy with the rest of the empire; and, indeed, their allegiance has hitherto been preserved only by the constant presence of Mant-chou garrisons. We will put these states out of the account in the prospective arrangement of the empire, for they will naturally prefer the rule of their own native princes to that of strangers; and we may reckon on their entire withdrawal from the system. But the southern provinces, peopled by tribes mutually connected, speaking the same language, and bound together by the ties of commercial interest, will doubtless agree on some scheme of inter-adhesion. Whether they will be fiefs of the empire or confederated states cannot indeed be yet foreseen. Of course, in either case, each province will be ruled by some successful rebel chief, while their present leader, Houng-siu-tsiuen (the Tae-ping-wang, or King Grand Pacificator), will probably lord it over the most magnificent portion of the land, and, with one hand on Canton and the other on Nankin, effectually control the course of internal and of foreign trade. This man is already scarcely less adored as a divinity than obeyed as a king by his blinded followers. It is he who has prescribed to them the code of moral and political ethics which they so unhesitatingly receive; it is no other than he himself, whom they revere as the younger brother of Jesus, — as the second son of the Almighty God, sent down from heaven in these latter days for their express deliverance. As he is the man on whose fiat everything depends, it is proper to look at the institutions he has already established, that we may thence get an outline of his future course.

Of the religious creed that the Tae-ping has promulgated, we have already spoken. Father Clavelin well remarks, that it is practically less a Christian than a Mahometan faith. The supposed Messiah of the rebels occupies the same position in their regard that the Prophet of the Turks held in that of his followers, as the favorite of Heaven, commissioned to

establish a new faith upon earth. For the rest, the Tae-ping seems to regard many matters with the eye of an Oriental sage. While tobacco and opium are inveighed against, great license is allowed in respect to polygamy. We are aware that this statement may surprise those who, basing their views upon the appearance of the rebels at Chin-kiang without a woman among them, hastily concluded that they must possess a very superior degree of celibate virtue; but it now appears that their wives were, for convenience, left at Nankin. Mr. Taylor found fifty thousand women there, belonging to the army; and Father Clavelin estimates the number, when he was there in December, 1853, at four hundred and eighty thousand. This enormous statement may be explained by the fact that the rebels have brought their families with them, not daring to leave them behind, without means of support, to the tender mercies of the mandarins. But it is very certain that the publications of the insurgent chiefs at Nankin permit polygamy, and the voice of rumor attributes its extensive practice to the leaders of the host. Be this as it may, it is curious indeed to observe under what excellent control the Tae-ping keeps his thousands of female followers. They are marshalled into companies of one hundred, and brigades of thirteen thousand. Each lady-brigadier, as well as her subordinates, has her appropriate uniform, and always bears about a stout bamboo rod, with which she maintains order and obedience in the ranks. These women have their own separate lodgings assigned them, and are governed with so accurate a discipline, that they are not unfrequently selected to perform garrison or other military duty.

The point of polygamy is not the only one in which we find a distinct refutation of the idea that the insurrection is a genuine Christian movement. At present, with no organized church or priesthood, with the doctrines of faith or devotion given out as necessity requires by the head of their establishment, their prophet and their king, it is impossible for us to say more than that theirs is evidently a mongrel belief, born from a brain teeming with confused and often erroneous ideas of the teachings of Christianity, not unlearned in the writings of Confucius, and perhaps imbued with some portions of the

faith of Mahomet. One thing is certain, that his abhorrence of the worship of Buddha does not yield to any other passion of his soul. From the combined workings of these different systems is produced a composite religion, built up of the most incongruous materials. Its only duties at present consist in the repetition, thrice in each day, of certain prescribed forms of prayer; but by and by, when the Tae-ping's power has increased to an exaggerated degree, he may no longer rest content with the salvo of artillery that now announces his performance of his adorations,—he may demand and receive divine honors for himself, and hear his name borne upon the floating clouds of incense, by the lips of a lying priesthood. Stranger things than this have come to pass, and may again occur.

But when he is seated on his new throne, and the Chinese empire remodelled, we may look for the practical results of the mighty revolution effected by this obscure Canton teacher; and they will be these. Unwittingly to himself, perhaps, he will teach us where to introduce the wedge, where to rest the lever; and it will not be many years ere we find European influence, hitherto so powerless in the high, exclusive walls of the palace of Peking, operating with wonderful force at the courts of a score of kingdoms, petty in comparison with the great aggregate of which they once formed part, and all jealous of, if not divided against, each other. Already the power and policy of Russia have tamed and brought under its own control those tribes of agricultural and nomadic Tartars who inhabit the regions beyond the Great Wall, and we may expect to see Russian influence preponderating in the counsels of the states which may be formed from Chinese Tartary and Tibet. The possession by a nation subsidiary to Russia of the valleys of the San-po and the Upper Burrampooter can never be an object of indifference to a rival always envious of British rule in India; and when we recollect that Lassa is scarcely one third so distant from the point where the Burrampooter enters British India as Delhi is from Calcutta, we may readily conceive how little exertion will be spared by England to neutralize or hold in check the possible intrigues of her Muscovite foe. The southern kingdoms of "the flowery land" will, however, fall undoubtedly under the immediate action of

that nation with whose commerce, religion, and language they are already acquainted, and it is not irrational to suppose that, by perfectly fair and legitimate means, Christian policy may in time supplant the effete system under which those fertile plains have so long labored, while the present garbled creed professed by the expectant sovereigns, purified by the efforts of earnest and good men, may lose the grosser materialism that pollutes its nature, and, dropping as sediment the foul blasphemies which we have pointed out, rise sublimated into an evangelical faith, held in the hearts and living on the tongues of the millions upon millions of a prosperous, happy, regenerate people.

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ART. IX. — *The Positive Philosophy of AUGUSTE COMTE, freely translated and condensed by HARRIET MARTINEAU.* London: John Chapman. 1853. 2 vols. 12mo.

WE are sorry, but not surprised, that Miss Martineau should have adopted the opinions which are avowed in the recent publication of her correspondence with Mr. Atkinson, and in this attempt to translate Comte's Philosophy and to render it popular in England. Her former writings showed considerable ability, but it was the ability of an ill-regulated mind,— of a mind working out of its proper sphere, and scorning all those limitations and restraints which indirectly help us in the search after truth, because they narrow the field of inquiry, and act as preservatives against the most hurtful errors. In her ambition to leave the common track, she has wandered wildly over the whole field of knowledge, and come to the most barren conclusion at last,— to a belief, if it can be called such, that there is no divine superintendence of the affairs of this world, and no hope of a world to come. The leading vice of her character has always been intellectual arrogance. She has never had any deference for man, and now has ceased to entertain any faith in her Creator; the only being whom she has never learned to distrust is herself. The very outset of her career as an author was an unfortunate one for the